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Foreword

In 1938 Buell Quain spent four months, from August to November, among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River area of central Brazil. In December of 1938 he was recalled to Rio de Janeiro, and failing to obtain governmental permission for his return to the upper Xingú, at least under conditions allowing minimal possibilities for field research, he was unable to continue his studies among the Trumaí. He went instead to do ethnographic and linguistic work among the Gê-speaking Kraho in the state of Maranhão. There, in April 1939, he died.

Quain's research among the Trumaí was, therefore, interrupted and incomplete. He left it in the form of hand-written field notes and a diary. These were carefully and painstakingly arranged and typed by his mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain. Several years after her son's death, Dr. Quain entrusted these notes to me with the understanding that if they proved to be of anthropological value, they would be prepared for publication or otherwise made available to scholars interested in the field. At one time I had hoped that another anthropologist might continue Quain's researches among the Trumaí, and that his notes might thus be incorporated into a more complete investigation of this little-known society. But, in 1946, I was informed by Eduardo Galvão, who had visited the upper Xingú River area, that the number of Trumaí had critically diminished and that Trumaí life was so seriously disorganized that it was doubtful whether they could exist as a tribal entity. It was apparent that little, if any, ethnographic data on the Trumaí beyond that contained in the scattered references of earlier anthropologists who had visited the region and the data in Buell Quain's notes would ever be available to us.

Robert F. Murphy therefore undertook to analyze, order, and prepare for publication the data gathered by Buell Quain. His task was first conceived as essentially that of an editor and a grant from the Buell Quain Fund was made to him for this purpose. It soon became clear that ordering and editing were not enough. While the notes were rich in detail and insights, there were many gaps which Quain certainly was aware of, and there were interpretations and generalizations about Trumaí culture which he undoubtedly would have inserted in his final report. Robert Murphy found that to understand Buell Quain's field work, he would have to immerse himself in the only available document-

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128 ation — he would have to read and re-read the notes, learn the names
114 of the numerous informants and other individuals mentioned there and in the diaries, identify them as to age, sex, status, family membership, etc., familiarize himself with place names and Trumaí terms just as a field investigator would have to do. In addition, Murphy was able to [127] utilize publications on the tribes of the upper Xingú region and of the tropical forest. He was able to consult with Dr. Eduardo Galvão who had worked in the upper Xingú area. And, after the first draft of this manuscript was completed, he was able to make many corrections on the basis of his own experiences among the tropical forest Mundurucú.

Throughout this account, Murphy has adhered to Quain's formulations as closely as possible, but to make them more comprehensible, he has carried analysis further and often added his own interpretations. And his knowledge of Quain's material authorized him to do so. Thus he gives us, not a complete monograph on the Trumaí, but as systematic and intelligible a picture of Trumaí culture and society as his limited data permitted. This monograph is presented for what it is — the field observations of a highly competent research anthropologist analyzed and interpreted by a capable and sympathetic fellow-anthropologist.

114 Something should be said about the general conditions of field research and about Buell Quain as an anthropologist. All anthropologists who knew Quain personally, and those who have read his *Fijian Village*,[1] are impressed by his skill as a field research worker and by his feeling for peoples and cultures not his own. Among the Trumaí, as earlier in a Fijian community, he participated as fully as any outsider could in the culture under study. He was scientifically rigorous, verifying his observations and hypotheses again and again, and when possible giving verbatim statements.

But, above all, Buell Quain liked people, and everywhere he saw them as whole human beings. This was apparent in 1938 in his great concern for the Trumaí canoemen who waited for him at an Indian post near the Xingú headwaters and who were forced to cross "enemy" territory on their return trip to their village. This was apparent in his field notes and diary and in his search to understand the complex motivations of his friends (and enemies). This was apparent in the reactions of the people themselves: in 1946 the few Trumaí whom Eduardo Galvão encountered on the Xingú asked for "Capitão Quain" and spoke of him in glowing terms. And when Galvão camped with the remaining Trumaí in 1952, young people who were but very small children in 1938 knew stories of "Capitão Quain" told them by their parents.

Buell Quain had an artist's responsiveness both to people and surroundings. I shall never forget his description of a phenomenon I later ex-

[1] Quain 1942.

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perienced. He told me of the effect of the tropical dawn on tropical forest peoples. Traveling in the dark, he noted, Indian canoemen tend to break the monotony by singing and talking, but just before the sun appears, they suddenly fall silent, as if in expectation of a sacred moment. Again and again, in camps and while traveling with Brazilian Indians, I was reminded of Quain's perception.

Although Robert Murphy rightly points out the decline of population and the trend toward disintegration of Trumaí culture even in 1938, the Trumaí were a functioning primitive society when Quain visited them. The upper Xingú River area was still very difficult to reach at that time. In 1938 access was by way of Cuyabá, the capital of Matto Grosso. Quain traveled from Cuyabá to the Indian post Simões Lopes by truck, then over savanna grasslands for six days on oxen, then down the Kuliseu River by canoe for seven days to a mission station maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young. After a delay here of almost three weeks, he spent another three weeks reaching the Trumaí, traveling slowly and visiting several tribal groups *en route*. The Kamayurá, at whose village he stayed shortly, provided him with canoemen for the last lap of his journey. It took Quain 38 days to return up river and cross the savanna country to Simões Lopes on leaving the Trumaí in late 1938.

Quain's letters to his mother and to his colleagues describe his trip to the Trumaí vividly. To quote a passage telling of his experiences on the upper Kuliseu River on his way to the mission station:

> The river journey was pleasant, until we began to have trouble. Even then I enjoyed it thoroughly. I had too much baggage for two canoes as I had planned. We had to use three. Besides myself I have two Brazilian men and a boy to help with the canoes. I had to paddle one myself and I enjoyed it thoroughly — despite the fact that white men aren't supposed to do that kind of thing. I gave the largest canoe with the most valuable cargo to the Brazilian whom I thought was the best canoeist. He had the boy to help with the paddling and poling through the rapids. Nevertheless it was his canoe which filled with water on the second day. We had to stop on a rock ledge and spread the things out to dry. Lots of rice and beans, papers and books, etc. It was evening. Not until the next morning did we realize that the sun barely touched the rocky ledge that we had chosen for drying the cargo. There was a wind — the worst of the dampness was removed before nightfall. Everything went well until we struck some swift rapids on the fifth day, when the same large canoe wrapped itself around a rock and the cargo went sailing down the river about eight miles an hour. I managed to rescue everything but a bag of farinha, a frying pan, a fishline and a couple of cakes of the hard unrefined sugar, which forms an important part of the diet throughout Matto Grosso.[1]

And about the Indians he wrote from the missionary station:

> My work for the next month is going to be a jumble of languages. It may take a month to reach the Trumaí because the Indians like to rest all the time. This means that I will have ample time to contact several in each of three different linguistic families (Carib, Arawak, Tupí). The Trumaí are entirely unrelated. This

[1] Quain letter, July 13, 1938.

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means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[3]

Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[4] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[5] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality. Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *sinri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[6] Max Schmidt in 1901,[7] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[8] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[3] Quain letter, July 28, 1938.
[4] Von den Steinen 1886.
[5] Von den Steinen 1897.
[6] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Petrullo 1932.

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Recent ethnographic researches have for the most part concentrated upon the Kamayurá (Galvão 1949, 1950, and 1952; Oberg 1953), the Waurá (de Lima 1949, 1950), and the Kuikuru (Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole, unpublished). Only incidentally have these observers commented upon the Trumaí. Therefore, in 1953 when I had the opportunity to spend a little time in the upper Xingú area, I made a point of remaining a few days with the remants of the Trumaí. They were camped temporarily at Karajaja, the old village site, on a lake about half a mile away from the Kuluene River; their permanent houses were then at Anariatan, near the village site during Quain's visit. It was the dry season and the Trumaí were fishing. There were only 24 persons in the group — six adult males, ten adult females, four boys and four girls. Three of the women were unmarried widows, and there was one unmarried girl just past puberty. The chieftain whose current name was Ilitoari (no doubt the Aloari of Quain's notes), was married to two sisters, and there were four monogamous families. Two of the men were old and unmarried. Thus, the Trumaí were again united as a village (they had disbanded for a while). In 1953, however, there were not even enough men for the Trumaí to participate in the intertribal spear-throwing contests, a sport in which they had once been famous throughout the area.

The process of steady social and cultural disintegration and depopulation, which was already apparent among the Trumaí in 1938, has been a continuing one; and it is only a question of a very short time before these people cease to exist as a separate tribal group. Thus, the information and insights that Robert Murphy has brought together from Buell Quain's field work may be all that we shall ever have on Trumaí life and society.

Columbia University CHARLES WAGLEY
February 1955

[P. x contains no textual material]

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Introduction

Many people do not read the prefaces to monographs. This one must be read in order to understand what follows. 114

The writer never met his co-author, Buell Quain, for Quain died sixteen years ago. Some six months before his death he had terminated a period of four months field research among the Trumaí Indians of the Xingú River in northern Matto Grosso, Brazil. Among his effects were his field notes, which represented the results of one of the most difficult investigations ever undertaken by an ethnologist.

In 1949, shortly after I commenced my graduate studies in anthropology, Professor Charles Wagley of Columbia University asked me to edit the Trumaí notes. After further consideration of the material, Professor Wagley and I concluded that the notes had been ordered as far as was possible by Quain's mother, Dr. Fannie Dunn Quain, and that they could best be presented in the form of a monograph, which I was to write.

First, let me describe Buell Quain's Trumaí notes. In essence they consist of a remarkably detailed field diary in which Quain had recorded the daily activities and events of the Trumaí village. If a woman walked from one house to another bearing food, it was duly stated. The play of the children, the facial expressions apparent during ceremonies, the slightest nuances of interpersonal behavior were all put into the notebook. Present also are charts showing the daily economic activities of every villager and a report, in all its minutiae, of what occurred in a household of an afternoon. Quain also set down in his daily log many comments made to him by his Trumaí informants and scraps of conversation which he overheard. 126

The notes are a triumph of participant observation. Quain understood very little Trumaí, although his diary shows that he was learning it rapidly by the time of his departure. He evidently maintained some communication with certain bilingual Trumaí by using Tupí, of which he appears to have had a fragmentary knowledge. Lacking the means to do detailed informant work, Quain leaned heavily on his observations of the behavior and activity of all the Trumaí, and he also learned much from his own personal interaction with them. He was deeply sensitive to the mutual relationships between himself and the subjects of his study, as he was completely alone in his sojourn; he did not even have a Brazilian backwoodsman for help and companionship. He entrusted 123 [122]

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123 himself to the hospitality of the Indians and in return received their confidence.

A feeling of aloneness permeates the Quain notes. He was in the midst of people with whom he had limited communication, due not only to the obstacle of language, but to the cultural gulf separating him from them. The threat of enemy attack was at that time constant in the upper Xingú area; life was precarious and civilization far off. Perhaps this existence sharpened his observations and increased the depth of his insights, for these are fine notes. Buell Quain's Trumaí 114 field trip is part of a tradition of ethnographic field research of which the anthropological profession may well be proud. His story, told more fully by Dr. Charles Wagley in the Foreword, adds one more legend to the saga of primitivist studies.

114 My own role in the writing of this monograph was to assemble and order the facts collected by Quain and to evaluate the data in terms of 128 which behavior and attitudes are normative within Trumaí culture, which lie within the range of permissible variation, and how such traits are merged in the whole. Facts do not speak for themselves. The concept of culture implies an interrelatedness of the components, which, in turn, calls for interpretation on the part of the ethnologist. It might be said that the information is Quain's product; its ordering into a coherent description of Trumaí culture mine. It is impossible, however, to so neatly separate the Murphy from the Quain in this monograph, for Quain's interests and ideas have influenced my interpretation of the data. Conversely, the facts have no doubt been affected by the interpretation. For this reason, I have included as many illustrations and examples from the notes as was possible. I have also avoided generalizing statements in the actual description of Trumaí culture, and overall interpretations have been reserved for the conclusion. The final chapter, then, is my own view of the dynamics involved in the breakdown of Trumaí culture and society. The reader will by that time be in essential command of the data upon which the generalizations are based and free to make up his own mind.

128 Quain's most adequate information is on the closely interrelated subjects of personality, ethos, life cycle, and interpersonal behavior and attitudes. Material culture, technology, and religion are less thoroughly documented. Thus, the orientation of the monograph is the result of Quain's own interests. I have also visualized my task to be a description of the Trumaí Indians in 1938, and reference has been made to other sources only to place them in the context of history and the cultural landscape of the upper Xingú River region.

114 Quain's field work was never completed and the reader will find large gaps in this monograph. Undoubtedly, there are errors and much that is in disagreement with other data and other field workers. It is

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doubtful, however, that we will ever have a full study of the Trumai, such as Quain had planned, for they are now on the verge of extinction.

Although I must bear the responsibility for the shortcomings of this monograph, others must share credit for any redeeming features it may have. Drs. A. L. Kroeber and Julian H. Steward have read sections of the manuscript and contributed many valuable comments. Miss Jane Phillips edited the first draft and helped in its organization. The manuscript owes much to my wife, Yolanda Murphy, who typed and edited it in all its stages and gave of her own insights as an anthropologist. Dr. Charles Wagley initiated and supervised this effort, and it profited greatly from his knowledge and experience gained among Brazilian primitives. But for him, Buell Quain's Trumai material would still be inaccessible to interested students. Dr. Wagley also furnished the photographs included in this monograph, which were taken during his visit to the Trumai in 1953, fifteen years after Quain had worked among them.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge the financial support given by the Buell Quain Fund towards the preparation of this study. Publication was made possible by the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and the American Ethnological Society. The writer would like to express his gratitude to all these people and institutions.

Urbana, Illinois ROBERT F. MURPHY
January 1955.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Upper Xingú Area

Previous Field Surveys

114 Buell Quain's research among the Trumaí Indians of the upper Xingú River in Brazil was accomplished during the months of August to November of 1938. There have been expeditions since then, and several preceded it. The best known of the early ethnographers is Karl von den Steinen, who was the first white man to explore the tributaries of the Xingú and to contact and report upon the tribes there. His trips of 1884 and 1887 were followed by those of Hermann Meyer in 1897 and 1899, Max Schmidt in 1901, and Vincent Petrullo in 1931. Since Quain's trip, Oberg in 1948, Galvão in 1947 and 1950, de Lima in 1947 and 1948, and Robert Carneiro and Gertrude E. Dole in 1953–54 have worked among the "tribes" of the upper Xingú.* Most of the earlier research was in the form of surveys, which did not concentrate on the culture of any one group. Intensive studies can only be done through continuous residence among and careful observation of a tribe. Quain did exactly this for several months, filling a gap of much-needed information from the upper Xingú. He has also treated social, political, and religious structure much more thoroughly than the surveys, which have given especial attention to material culture. Since the other sources have treated this aspect of culture more completely than did Quain, and as Quain himself was more interested in non-material culture, the present work will follow his emphasis.

Geographical Features

131 The tributaries of the Xingú River have particularly attracted ethnologists, because the inaccessibility of the region has made it a fortress against the inroads of Brazilian civilization. There were probably few places in Brazil harder to reach. Entry from the north is virtually impossible as the main stream of the Xingú is blocked by falls, and transportation by river boat is therefore precluded. Travel above the fall

* The term "tribe" is commonly accepted by anthropologists to mean a multi-community group unified within a common social structure or by continuous political controls, the people of which share the same language and culture and feel themselves to be one. This is not true of the upper Xingú groups, and the term is used herein for purposes of convenience and in its broadest sense only.

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The rapid exhaustion of the soil forces them into a life which, although not nomadic, involves frequent moves. As the soil in old plots is exhausted, new ones have to be opened up. The area of exploitable land around the village is limited by the need to transport the produce and protect the villagers from their enemies. Thus, after the land available to the village has been used, the group moves. 134 241 361

The main subsistence of the nine village groups now living in the upper Xingú area is derived from this typically Amazonian shifting horticulture coupled with fishing in the extensive streams, lagoons, and estuaries. Apparently, the population of the region was never great enough to cause any pressure on land or other resources. Each village maintained exclusive rights of exploitation over certain waterways and areas of land within which the village always moved. There evidently were not, and still are not, any clearly defined territorial boundaries; but village rights are implicitly recognized. 105 226 241 423

The Neighbors of the Trumaí

Although there is considerable uniformity in the cultures of the upper Xingú tribes, their linguistic affiliations are diverse. The main language stocks of aboriginal Brazil are represented. On the Kuluene River are the linguistically independent Trumaí and the Cariban Kuikuru, Kalapalo, Tsuva, and Naravute. Near the waters of the Kuliseu River live the Tupian Kamayurá and Aueti, the Arawakan Mehinaku and Yaulapití, and the Cariban Nahukwa. The Batoví River is inhabited by the Arawakan Waurá and Kustenaú.[1] All these villages maintain a rather distrustful peace among themselves, but live in fear of their hostile Gê- and Tupian-speaking neighbors on the perimeters of the upper Xingú drainage area. 101 197 [648]

The upper Xingú "tribes" consist of one village each. It seems evident from the linguistic heterogeneity of the region that it is a *cul de sac* — one of the aboriginal refuge areas which characterize the cultural landscape of the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries. 101

The cultural uniformity of the above peoples has impressed all observers, as has the extensive contact that they maintain with each other. Descriptions of this homogeneity are to be found in von den Steinen[2] and, latterly, in Galvão[3] and Oberg.[4] Among the principal material traits which distinguish the area as opposed to neighboring, but outside, groups are: haystack-shaped houses arranged in a circle around a central plaza; bark canoes; dependence upon fish for protein; 171 [114]

[1] Oberg (1953, p. 4) states that the Yaulapití, Kustenaú, Tsuva, and Naravute no longer live in independent villages, but reside among other groups, usually of the same linguistic family.

[2] Von den Steinen 1886. [3] Galvão 1949. [4] Oberg 1953.

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ted plants as beans and gourds and for the flat manioc flour cake, the *beijú*, are almost identical with the corresponding Kamayurá words.

The pre-contact history of the Trumaí is largely inferential and their recent history is poorly documented. The white explorers and scientists who visited the upper Xingú frequently did not encounter the Trumaí, and almost never visited their villages. Historical data indicate that in von den Steinen's time and possibly as late as the 1931 trip of Petrullo the Trumaí lived in two villages. Von den Steinen showed an abandoned Trumaí village, in substantially its present location, and another on the lower end of the Tsahuku, a network of waterways and lagoons west of and parallel to the Kuliseu River.[6] Although Meyer's map did not show this southern village in 1896,[7] it appears in Schmidt's map for 1901.[8] Petrullo encountered Trumaí, most probably of the southern village, on the west bank of the Kuliseu, between the locales of the Nahukwa and Mehinaku villages.[9] M. Moennich, one of a party of American missionaries who descended the Kuliseu in 1937, did not, however, note a Trumaí village near this site.[10] When Quain arrived in 1938 there was only one Trumaí village, which was located at the northern site. This would suggest that the southern village was abandoned in 1937–38, but it is possible that those Trumaí seen by Petrullo and Moennich were the same ones whom Quain visited.

The northern and southern villages mentioned in the literature are the only ones recorded. It is certain that since 1884 there have only been two communities, although each has been located in many different places. Unfortunately, the exact locations of the abandoned sites and their periods of occupation are not well known. Each of the old village locales had a name, and these designations are still known. Among them are Morena, Waniwani, Karajaja, Iakare, Jawpew, and Wahldat. Some of the names, such as Iakare, are obviously of Tupian origin. Jawpew was the name of the northern Trumaí village at the time of von den Steinen's expeditions. Karajaja was the last location before the one in which Quain resided. This site was located near the Kamayurá village on the Tsahuku and appears on Petrullo's map. The Trumaí said that it was a good village, but that they had to move because the Kamayurá and Auetí were practicing sorcery against them. The village to which they moved, and where Quain visited them, was named Anariatan.

People were often referred to by other Trumaí according to the village in which they were born. Thus, a *Wahldat jaxlo* was, literally, a son of Wahldat. Also, garden sites were most commonly named after an abandoned village. The old villages were looked on with reverence as the homes of the ancestors of the Trumaí. They were considered to be places of great interest, and Quain was repeatedly urged to visit them.

[6] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 93. [7] Meyer 1897, Plate I. [8] Schmidt 1942.
[9] Petrullo 1932, p. 180. [10] Moennich 1942.

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The usual procedure was for each man to clear a garden plot adjacent to the others; in this way the two large clearings of Nariatan and Waniwanitan were created. The three isolated small clearings might have been nuclei for future large clearings.

All the trees in the plot to be cleared were felled, and the underbrush was slashed away. This has been done with steel axes since the upper Xingú Indians came in contact with the outside world. Quain noted that much more work must have been involved in clearing the forest when stone axes were used. Even with improved implements, clearing land was the most arduous work done by the Trumaí. Stumps were not uprooted, nor were the fallen trees and shrubs removed. The dead vegetation was allowed to dry, and the plot was burned over just before planting in September. When planting, the Trumaí followed the simple expedient of avoiding burned tree trunks and stumps. One year old garden plots were made ready for replanting simply by pulling out or chopping down weeds.

The heavy work of clearing the land fell to the men. In one case reported by Quain, two men from the same household cleared a plot jointly, but in all other instances each garden was cleared by one man.

Permanent rights to land resided in the community as a whole, but gardens were spoken of as belonging to the man who had cleared the land. He also had proprietary rights over the crops, even when he had not planted them himself. Generally, however, such fine points of property were not an issue, as the man who cleared the land usually planted it. Land tenure was a function of use only.

Absolute, permanent ownership of property in land would have had no purpose, as the gardens were temporary and were abandoned when the soil was exhausted after two consecutive plantings.

The planting season began after the first light rains and lasted from about the middle of September to about the second week in October. The first heavy daytime rains arrive at the beginning of October and become more frequent throughout the month. Thus the sowing was done after the earth was moistened, but before the rains arrived in full force.

Quain made note of a variety of food plants growing in the Trumaí gardens. These included bitter manioc (*ole*), corn (*xotet*), squash, large beans (*kuman*), small beans (*kumana'i*), sweet potatoes (*mani*), sugar cane (*kanaviya*), a species of pineapple (*waeus ruyau*), and banana trees (*tsi tdatdat*). Among the domesticated non-food plants were tobacco, cotton (*amundyu*), the castor bean (*patasy*), and *urucú* (*matdot*). Quain believed that the castor bean was used for the round hollow point of the whistling arrow, but Oberg says that the Kamayurá make theirs with hollow nuts of the tucúm palm.[1] *Urucú* is a plant bearing a pod, the

[1] Oberg 1953, p. 31.

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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other
● 114 aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy
335 center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two
[283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-
342 builders and brought back tied in bundles.

The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pana* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

●114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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taboos and permissible marriages were a part of kinship-determined behavior and will be treated below.

Kinship Terminology

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Everyone within the Trumaí village classified everyone else by a term of relationship. Since the community was small, most of these designations expressed a demonstrable bond of consanguinity or affinity, although even outsiders were placed within the kinship system. This was done by establishing a kin tie with one Trumaí, whereupon the rest of the village could automatically place the outsider in the proper context.

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Much of the data on the kinship system is uncertain for a number of reasons. The high death rate of the Trumaí, their lack of interest in tracing genealogies, and, most important, a taboo on the names of the dead made the recounting of family lines difficult. Moreover, there is some indication that the Trumaí system was changing rapidly. Many descriptive categories for classifying collateral kinsmen were falling into disuse and being replaced by classificatory terms. The result is an extreme looseness of nomenclature, as can be seen from the accompanying list of terms collected by three ethnologists.[3]

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Term	Quain	Oberg[4]	Wagley[5]
Ego's generation			
sibling	apizi[6]		
younger brother	takwai (v)	ahedát[6] (m. sp.)	ha-heát[6] (m. sp.)
	opat (r)	takwai (w. sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)
older brother		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (m. or w. sp.)
sister	hatdiflo		ha-duflo (m. sp.)
younger sister	ta'yj	tain (m. sp.)	
		takwai (w. sp.)	ha-takwai (w.sp.)
older sister		apisí (m. or w.sp.)	ha-pisí (w. sp.)

[3] The three lists of Trumaí kinship terms are listed below, since they, in a sense, complete and correct one another. Quain's list is admittedly incomplete and contains several errors. Wagley's terms likewise are incomplete and based on short interviews with informants during his brief stay among the Trumaí. Oberg says nothing about his Trumaí informants, and neither Oberg nor Wagley collected referential terms. The divergencies, then, may reflect misunderstandings on the part of the ethnologists or informants, or they may actually reflect changes that are taking place in Trumaí society.

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 119.

[5] Wagley, personal communication.

[6] The prefix "ha" (Wagley and Quain) or "a" (Oberg and Quain) is the Trumaí first person possessive.

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Term	Quain	Oberg	Wagley
mother's brother's son	mipino	hamopinó (m. or w. sp.)	ha-mipinó (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother's daughter	„	„	„
father's sister's son	„	„	„
father's sister's daughter	„	„	„
mother's sister's son		adif (m. sp.) apisi (w. sp.)	
mother's sister's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-duflo (m. sp.)
father's brother's son	hapino (v)	adif (m. sp.) apisi (w. sp.)	
father's brother's daughter		adiflé (m. sp.) takwai (w. sp.)	ha-duflo (m. sp.)
First Ascending Generation			
father	apapa (v) a'ao (r)	apapá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-papa (m. or w. sp.)
mother	ataivo (v) ale (r)	ataivá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-taivo (m. or w. sp.)
father's brother	tatok (v)	atatók (m. or w. sp.)	ha-tatók (m. or w. sp.) ha-papa
father's sister	akato	akató (m. or w. sp.)	ha-katá (m. or w. sp.)
mother's brother	wawo (v)	wawó (m. or w. sp.)	wawó (m. or w. sp.)
mother's sister	koko	kokó (m. or w.sp.)	koko (m. or w.sp.)
First Descending Generation			
son	faxlo	awalók (m. sp.) awahók (w. sp.)	ha-pai (m. sp.)
daughter	faxlo	yawaitló (m. or w. sp.)	ha-faxlo
brother's son	faxlo takwai (m. sp.) waremo (v., m. sp.) tacnam (r., m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	waremó (m. sp.) kamlók (w. sp.)	
brother's daughter	faxlo ta'yj (m. sp.) adjut (w. sp.)	tauf (m. sp.) aytin (w. sp.)	
sister's son	faxlo takwai (w. sp.)	detá (m. sp.) takwaipdé (w.sp.)	deta (m. sp.)

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Term	Quain	Obeng	Wagley
	deta (v., m. sp.)		
sister's daughter	faxio	adák (m. sp.)	ha-dak (m. sp.)
	ta'yj (m. or w. sp.)	ta'ai (w. sp.)	
	tatdicnam (w. sp.)		
Second Ascending Generation			
father's father	adjei (v)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.)
	adjen (r)		ha-yei (w. sp.)
mother's father	adjei (v)	ayei (m. or w.sp.)	ha-doho (m. sp.)
	adjen (r)		ha-yei (w. sp.)
father's mother	atsets (v)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
	alen (r)		
mother's mother	atsets (v)	atsetá (m. or w. sp.)	ha-doho
	alen (r)		
Second Descending Generation			
son's son	hadozo	adohó	ha-doho
son's daughter	"	"	"
daughter's son	"	"	"
daughter's daughter	"	"	"
Affinals			
husband	eco	tekaú	ha-eshé
wife	hatdetsi	adetsí	ha-detsi
brother's wife		adifletsi (m. sp.)	
sister's husband		ashlá (m. sp.)	ha-eshla (m. sp.)
wife's brother		ashlá	ha-talak

Incest Restrictions

The Trumaí had no rules of group or locality exogamy. Permissible and prohibited sexual or marital relationships were a function of certain kinship ties only. The most acceptable marriage union was between cross-cousins. According to one informant, true cross-cousins should not marry, but Quain's genealogies present a number of cases in which first cousins related through sibling parents of unlike sex have done so. It is doubtful whether these represented violations of a rule, for there was one instance of such cross-cousins, when they were very young children, being pledged in marriage by their parents. Parallel cousins were not acceptable mates, nor were their children or the children of siblings.

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of specialist among the Trumaí that is not reported for the Kamayurá, and it is to this type that the term "shaman" is applied in the following description. The Trumaí "shaman," in this sense, is a man who possessed extra-visionary powers through which he could locate enemy war parties and "see" the afterworld.

The source of the visionary shaman's and also the curing shaman's power is revealed nowhere in Quains' notes, nor do we have any information on other aspects of the associated belief system. Oberg's Kamayurá informants told him that personal spirits are acquired during illness, and it is contact with one's spirit which gives the power.[3] This may well be true in Trumaí culture also, but the very fact that Quain did not perceive this, even granting the language barrier, might indicate a decline in the strength of animistic belief.

"Seeing," as Quain translates Trumaí shamanism, took place only at night. (Quain was told that if a shaman inhaled large quantities of tobacco smoke during the day, his temples would pound.) Since one of the main purposes of shamanism was to detect enemies and the fear of attack was greatest at night, it was then that knowledge was felt to be most necessary. Shamanism, it should be stressed, revolved around one of the central themes in Trumaí life, fear of other tribes; the pronouncements of the shaman were almost always that enemies were near and that danger was acute. These were generally believed without question by his audience.

The procedure was simple. When the talk in the men's circle stressed the possibility of a raid, the shaman was called upon to "see." A hushed silence fell over the group. Even Quain was asked to stop speaking and using his typewriter. The shaman turned his back on the assembly, inhaled large amounts of tobacco smoke, his only paraphernalia, and seemed to concentrate deeply. Quain could detect no traces of tobacco narcosis, but it was possible that a mild reaction was produced. After a few minutes of intense concentration, the shaman faced about and announced the results of his activity. This was usually to the effect that he had seen Suyá, or, less often, Bororo, Yuruna, or a tribe of the immediate region. A Trumaí shaman could also find lost articles, but this was secondary to "seeing" the enemy. One shaman claimed to have seen the land of the dead, but there was no suggestion that he had communicated with the deceased.

Only certain older men were visionary shamans. There is no evidence that women were admitted to the practice anywhere in the region. Inheritance of shamanistic power was nominally patrilineal. In 1938 there were three shamans: Yakuma, the chief's oldest biological brother, Aloari's brother Tun, and Matiwana. Tun was the most active practitioner, while Yakuma seldom "saw." Maibu said that the latter was

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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Deities and Mythology

The Trumaí were certainly not preoccupied with the supernatural. Quain makes no mention of the spirit owners of animal, plant, and fish species that figure so prominently in the Kamayurá belief system, nor does he speak of the "*ole* spirits" attributed to the Trumaí by Oberg.[8] Beliefs, which are a more covert part of culture, are particularly difficult for an ethnographer who lacks familiarity with the language to learn about, and it is understandable that Quain's notes are weak on this point.

Magic, except for sorcery, was not observed by Quain, unless shamanistic curing is considered a magical practice. No objects, such as charms or amulets, were thought to have a magical effect, and the already discarded ceremonial objects were the only inanimate items that could be said to have some inherent religious value. In short, the day-to-day world of the Trumaí was little influenced by extra-corporeal forces or personages. The deities were nearly all culture heroes and creators, who did their work in the dim past of the "grandfathers of all the Trumaí."

With some variation the mythology of the Trumaí was quite similar to that of the Kamayurá. The most important of the Trumaí creation deities was Sun (Atehle). This was not the visible, celestial sun. The Trumaí explained that the celestial sun was only the *aton* (pet) of the real Sun, who was important in all the creation myths. Sun no longer actively intervened in life, but in the days of the creation he was an anthropomorphic personage having great supernatural powers. Sun's mother was the wife of Panther (Fetde), who appears in the tales of the after life. This woman, in turn, was the daughter of Wamutsini, or Grandfather. The latter had an important part in the creation, for he was the original deity from whom the other supernaturals sprang. Wamutsini's daughter was not important in these stories.

The identity and character of Moon were ill-defined. At one time Moon was in the heavens with Sun, who, however, became angry with him and cast him out to his present isolated position. Moon was once eaten by Awalanaxe, a fish. Sun, upon learning of this, made a fishhook, caught Awalanaxe, and disemboweled him. Moon was found inside quite chewed up, but Sun molded him back into shape. A fly then crawled up the nostril of the unconscious Moon causing him to sneeze. He thought that he had merely been asleep, but Sun explained that he had been eaten.

Moon's sex was highly ambivalent, being a male in some tales and a female in others. He was not, however, important as a creator. Awalanaxe appeared frequently in the mythology as did Wakpanehene, another fish.

[8] Oberg 1953, p. 54.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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took the axe, and this is why they have been able to build a great civilization. Indeed, white men, although first encountered in 1884, figure in many Trumaí myths. For instance, Waniwani once seduced Uluwa's wife and took her to the land of the white men, which was thought to lie either downstream near the Yuruna or beyond the headwaters of the Kuluene River.

Many ceremonies were first taught by Sun. He presented Maibu's deceased brother with a spear-thrower and taught him the spear-throwing contest. He also first made the masks which the Trumaí once used. The people of the area received cotton and tobacco from Sun, and he gave the fishtrap to the Mehinaku.

The foregoing creation myths collected by Quain were probably only a small part of the Trumaí cycle. Paradoxically, the historic legend of their migration into the area and the subsequent borrowing of culture elements from their neighbors would seem to negate the creation myths in which the Trumaí appear to have always lived in the upper Xingú area. Quain states that they have reconciled the inconsistencies, but he does not support this point with any concrete data. Undoubtedly this problem bothered the ethnographer far more than the Trumaí.

The After-Life

Waniwani, the village of the afterworld, was located in the heavens. In order to get there one had to travel the Milky Way. This was the abode of Panther, and the road was lined with many panthers who inflicted dangerous wounds on the wayfarers. After passing through this gamut, the dead entered the Trumaí village. Here many Trumaí resided, and the rivers and lagoons teemed with *kate* fish. These were usually caught by poisoning, as the *tawasi* tree grew in abundance. There was no death in this afterworld; it was only on earth that death was feared, said the Trumaí.

Jemenary and Kelenewary

The last of the Trumaí myths collected by Quain concerned Jemenary and his trickster nephew Kelenewary. This story, which has a decided Oedipus theme with the maternal uncle in the father role, was the only context in which these two appeared, and they cannot be identified further than to say that they were mythological beings who lived in the "long ago" of the Trumaí.

Jemenary was angry with Kelenewary because the latter, his *deta*, or sister's son, was sleeping with his wife. Kelenewary knew no shame, for a good Trumaí would never have done such a thing. Jemenary tried by a series of ruses to rid himself of his nephew. He ordered him to

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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All other play was more spontaneous and uncoordinated. Amusement and education were derived from using small bows and arrows which all boys possessed and the older ones knew how to make. Much of their time was spent shooting at insects and other targets in the village, but three or four children might occasionally go together to the lagoon and shoot fish from the banks. Sometimes they would wander off to the clearings when planting was in progress, or travel through the woods to gather guava. Few restraints were placed on their movements.

Nor was the sex play of children greatly inhibited by their elders. Actually there was no heterosexual activity between children, for there were no girls of appropriate age in the village. Thus, pre-pubescent sexual relations occurred between boys or between boys and men, and almost always it was the boys who were the instigators. Quain felt certain that Tay was the only member of the village who might be considered a homosexual. He was an orphan, and although he was fed and housed, he was identified with no family, and no one took any special interest in him. Tay, more than any boy, remained aloof from other children. His sexual advances were directed to a large extent toward the older males, who often cooperated with him. For example, he often wrapped his legs around Jakuma's hips, going through sexual motions. The older man would giggle when he did this and show signs of being mildly stimulated. Mayuva, among others, was less receptive, but his only mode of resistance was to arch his body away from the boy.

The sexual play of a young child might even include his father. Quain observed little Tsirikoan tugging at his father's penis. The father showed some annoyance, but only because he did not want to be bothered. Although children were rarely manipulated in this way by the men, Quain saw Yanahi, a young married man, amusing himself and some boys by pulling Tsirikoan's penis until the child had an erection. The boys whispered to Yanahi that Quain was watching, but this apparently made no difference to him, for he continued his activity.

The minor homosexual engagements that took place between the boys themselves were likewise in the nature of play. Quain saw no homosexuality between adults, and, contrary to Levi-Strauss' inference from Quain's notes, there was no kinship tie that implied permissible homosexual relations.[1]

The facts of sex were certainly no secret to the children. Living in undivided houses and sleeping with or adjacent to their parents, they were aware at an early age of the sexual activities of their elders. No effort was made to keep sexual knowledge from them, and they derived considerable amusement from the sexual affairs of the adults. Tsirikoan and some other boys raised a great hue and cry when they happened

[1] Levi-Strauss 1948, p. 337.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
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APPENDIX

Buell Quain, in a letter to the late Dr. Ruth Benedict written from Brazil on December 21, 1938, summarized several aspects of Trumaí culture which have a direct and immediate bearing on their decline. Following are excerpts of ethnological interest from this letter, which was discovered after this monograph was completed:

"They are a dying culture. Each generation improves its imitation of Kamayurá culture. Everyone in the village knows a few Kamayurá words. Almost all the songs in the manioc fertility ceremony are Kamayurá. Half the people in the village can carry on a conversation in Kamayurá with ease. One household (there are four) uses Kamayurá in preference to Trumaí. The mother of the house owner speaks no Trumaí; she is a Kamayurá woman who has lived with the Trumaí for about twenty-five years. The child of the household, a ten year old girl, confuses Kamayurá kinship terms with Trumaí in classifying the village. All Trumaí women between twenty and forty have been captive wives among the Kamayurá (which puts the Trumaí men in a peculiar position which they fully but fruitlessly resent) .... They have lots of disorganized leisure. They are sleepy (in part because of insects and fear throughout the night). They are ready to imitate not only the Kamayurá, but me, in petty daily habits. No outsider speaks Trumaí.

"There is nobody among them who volunteers information of ethnological value. For three months I dug for structure and got very little... Dullness cannot be attributed to the climate.

"The village is small .... Each of the four households — now five because of a recent split — are organized, or perhaps disorganized, according to different sociological principals. Three of the seventeen women are of foreign birth; one is Kamayurá, one is Mehinaku, and one is Suyá. The first two speak no Trumaí. A fourth woman with ringworm and two sick children is said to be Yaulapití, but she is well set in Trumaí culture. Nobody claims her as a relative (in part because of aversion toward her ringworm); hence she is used as a prostitute by every man in the village — she is the village joke. Among the men, I have found remarkably uniform responses to various 'tests'. (I said 'Draw a picture of a woman and a man.' Every man but one drew the woman first and oriented her in a distinctive way on the paper. The women showed no such regularity. One Kamayurá man tested also lacked this stereotyped response.)

/196 cont./

• 114 The incident, which basically has put me in a bad humor, is all the more unpleasant since the soldiers are very delighted about it; they regard it as a sort of easy victory about which they would like to boast. Many also do not consider the "bravo," the savage, worth better treatment, and those who are full-blooded Indians themselves judge most severely. Antonio is still very dissatisfied, although the feather ornament that he procured for himself in place of the unfortunate hat looks much better on him.

[123] We need not doubt but that none of the Trumaí was hit by a bullet; all the men agree about this. They are very good-hearted by nature; they pulled out of the water one boy who, they say, could not swim.

609 721 Now and then the view is expressed that the Trumaí had a secret disarmament plan. To be sure, the Bakaïrí had warned us in this respect; they described in detail how the Trumaí would receive strangers in a friendly manner, wheedle their weapons from them, and then attack the unsuspecting ones; they would wrench their arms out of their shoulder joints -- "pok, pok, pok," the narrators graphically described it -- tie their hands together, and toss the thus mutilated bodies into the river.

000 Thanks be to the gods if we have escaped such a fate. For the time being, however, I shall deeply regret this day. In popular Brazilian belief, August is an unlucky month. Well, at least we are already at the thirty-first.

And the poor Trumaí are worse off than we are. When they arrive home in their miserable array, deprived of all their weapons and yet none wounded, what will their beloved wives say? Has anything like that ever happened on the Schingú? It will be difficult for the heroes to report their deeds in such a way that praise and honor will be due them; the two trophies so bravely salvaged will play an important role. If not two heads, at least they are bringing home two hats. One of them plaited out of straw, can be understood, explained, but the other, a gray felt -- where are there forest animals whose skin bears hair not only on the outside, but also on the inside? Oh, riddle of life!

/55 cont./

B 101 131 361 On the very first evening I obtained a fairly clear conception of the Kulisehu dwellers whom we might see. There were three Bakaïrí villages; they were supposed to be followed by a village of the "Nahuquá," two villages of the "Minakú," a village of the "Auití," a village of the "Yaulapihú," and on the "Kuluëne" a village of the "Trumaí," Between the Kulisehu and the Tamitotoala-Batovy, the "Kamayulá" and the "Waurá" B 103 133 114 were said to be living. The meaning of the river name "Kuluëne," which I now heard for the first time, remained uncertain. Only gradually did I come to understand that it is the chief river in the east, larger than the Kulisehu which empties into it. Thus the river that we had seen in 1884 flowing in from the southeast at Schingú-Koblenz /Xingu-Coblenz/ was not actually the "Kulisehu," as we had understood at that time and had believed up to now, but rather the combined Kuluëne-Kulisehu; the name "Kuluëne" was retained for the Schingú itself below the large fork, so that the Suyá, for instance, lived on the Kuluëne. If one wished to go by the nomenclature of the natives, one would have to use the name "Kuluëne" instead of "Schingú" and now say that the Kuluëne first receives the Kulisehu and then, at "Koblenz," the Ronuro along with the Tamitotoala-Batovy.

B 823 It was a difficult piece of work to get these statements from the Bakaïrí; there was much drawing in the sand, much pantomime carried on, and, if a section of the route remained B 101 T 114 obscure, they always began again from the beginning. For the time being I knew enough; the individual tribes apparently did not live very far apart, at most a journey of three days. I was also given some bad news, and I confess that for me it spoiled the hitherto very pleasant memory of the first expedition: when the Trumaí /56/ at that time at Koblenz had dashed away from us in sheer flight, and our soldiers had pursued them in order to recover some of the objects that they had taken along in spite of their haste, a Trumaí had been killed, as I now learned, in the foolhardy shooting that the men had permitted themselves and that allegedly was only aimed into the air. We could therefore hardly count on a cordial welcome there.